Thomas More and Spain

Miguel Martínez López, ed.

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Notes on Contributors

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Isabel M. Fuentes Martínez (BA 2019; MA 2020 in English Studies, Universidad de Jaén) has done research on women's education in the Early Modern Period and its relationship with Humanism, especially in England. During the third year of her BA, she was an Erasmus student at the University of Leeds (England). She was the holder of a scholarship to collaborate with the English Department at the Universidad de Jaén, and of a fellowship to work on her Master's dissertation. At present, she is a free-lance researcher and would like to become a librarian.

Víctor Lillo Castañ is a Margarita Salas research fellow at the Max Planck-Institut für Rechtsgeschichte (Frankfurt) and the Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona. He has published extensively on Thomas More and Spain, has co-edited *Saberes inestables: estudios sobre expurgación y censura en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2018) and has recently authored a critical edition of the first Spanish translation of More's *Utopia*, *El buen estado de la república de Utopía* (en traducción de Vasco de Quiroga, Clásicos Políticos del Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2020).

Miguel Martínez López is a Full Professor of English Studies and Department Chair at the University of Valencia. In his work in the foreign service, he has served as Consul of Education in Miami and

as Education and Science Commissioner at the Embassies of Spain in Washington, D.C., and Ottawa. A Fulbright Visiting Fellow at Yale, Professor Martínez has published over one hundred works, with a primary focus on utopian and dystopian literature, particularly the writings of Thomas More. Among his recent publications in this field are «*Ius ad bellum* and *ius in bello* in Thomas More's *Utopia*» (2022), *Glossae*, and *El Ocaso de Koinonia. La Distopía en la Literatura de los EE. UU.*, co-authored with A. Burgos (PUV, 2024).

Eugenio M. Olivares Merino (BA Granada 1990; PhD Granada 1994) teaches Medieval and Early Modern English literature as a Senior Lecturer at the Universidad de Jaén (Spain). He has published monographs on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Beowulf* and Margaret More Roper and is the author of several articles, both in Spanish and international journals. He was Visiting Scholar at the Universities of Urbana-Champaign (1992) and Yale (2003). Currently, he is the Coordinator of the *Online Master in English Studies* (English Department, Universidad de Jaén) and IP1 of the Project «Thomas More and Spain».

Marie-Claire Phélippeau is a retired Professor of English language and Literature and former Editor of the journal *Moreana* (2008-2017). She is the current President of the *Society Amici Thomae Mori*. She holds a doctorate from the Université de La Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris III (1997). She has published a number of articles and book chapters on More, Renaissance humanists and *Utopia*. She is the author of the biography *Thomas More* (Gallimard, 2016); a translation of More's *Last Things* as *Mise en garde avant l'Enfer* (2017).

Inmaculada Ureña Asensio, who holds a BA and an MA in English Studies from the Universidad de Jaén, is a PhD candidate at that institution, where she is currently working on the fields of Thomas More Studies and Digital Humanities. She is a researcher in the international project «Thomas More and Spain». For her thesis dissertation, she is encoding and tagging with TEI the Spanish translation of Thomas More's *Utopia* rendered by Gerónimo de Medinilla in 1637.

Cinta Zunino Garrido is a Senior Lecturer at the Universidad de Jaén, where she teaches English literature. In 2012, Dr. Zunino

Garrido authored *Mimesis and the Representation of Experience. Dramatic Theory and Practice in pre-Shakespearean Comedy (1560-1590)*, for which she obtained the award to the best book of literary criticism for 2013 by the Spanish Association of English Studies (AEDEAN), and was shortlisted in 2014 by the European Society for the Study of English (ESSE). Dr. Zunino Garrido has been a researcher in the international project «Thomas More and Spain». She is the current president of the board of tenured faculty at the Universidad de Jaén, and deputy head of the English Department.

Introduction

When Thomas More was born on February 7, 1478, in the Cheapside district of London, the world was on the cusp of dramatic transformations. Pope Sixtus IV had recently authorized the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition; in Florence, the Pazzi Conspiracy (April 1478) sought to assassinate Lorenzo de' Medici, intensifying tensions between Florence and the Papal States. Meanwhile, in Muscovy, Ivan III the Great continued his expansion, consolidating territories that would form the basis of Russia. Italian city-states were pioneering financial innovations like bills of exchange, stabilizing cross-border trade. England, however, was still heavily dependent on the wool trade and financially weakened by the Wars of the Roses (1455-1487), which drained national resources.

Into this world came Thomas More, the author of *Utopia* and the creator of a genre that would evolve into modern utopian studies. A pivotal figure of the Renaissance, More's contributions spanned literature, political and religious thought, education, and philosophy, with his influence continuing well beyond his era, into ours and surely beyond. No work of his, though, has had the intense and lasting impact of the English version of his *Utopia*: *On The Best State Of A Commonwealth and On The New Island of Utopia. A Truly Golden Handbook, No Less Beneficial than Entertaining, by the Most Distinguished and Eloquent Author THOMAS MORE Citizen and Undersheriff of the Famous city of London (1516)* in the version translated by Robert M. Adams for the Norton Critical Edition of *Utopia* and edited by George M. Logan, Robert M. Adams and Clarence H. Miller for Cambridge University Press. Originally translated from Latin into English by Ralph Robinson, in 1551, his translation (far from error-free) was significant as it made More's Latin work accessible to English readers not long after More's death, helping to spread *Utopia*'s influence in England and beyond. Robinson's translation was the standard English version for many years, but, in modern times,

among many others, Paul Turner's (1965) translation for Penguin, Clarence H. Miller's (2001) for Yale University Press, accompanied by extensive annotations (a revision of the Yale UP 1965 edition, translated by G. C. Richards) and Robert Adams' (1975) version for Norton's Critical Editions, with historical documents and critical essays (reprinted with some improvements in the above-cited CUP edition of the parallel texts) are outstanding because they provide high-quality context and insight into *Utopia*'s impact and legacy. One of the contributors to this volume, Víctor Lillo Castañ, discovered the earliest Spanish translation of Thomas More's *Utopia* (in the early 1530s) by Vasco de Quiroga, which explains the early impact of More's text in Spain and in the Spanish American provinces.

More's relationship with Spain was particularly significant within the political and intellectual exchanges of the early sixteenth century. His diplomatic role brought him into contact with key Spanish figures, and *Utopia* was conceptualized amid negotiations with the Spanish Empire over wool trade. His ties to the Spanish Habsburg dynasty and his support for Catherine of Aragon as the legitimate Queen of England led to his ultimate stance on the separation of powers and the rule of law, principles that would carry him to the scaffold.

As Henry VIII's statesman, More was deeply involved in Anglo-Spanish relations during a period when England sought balance within European power dynamics. Spain had a profound impact on European humanism, with figures such as Juan Luis Vives –a close friend of More– contributing significantly to intellectual discourse on key moral issues such as war and peace and education. The friendship triangle of Erasmus, More, and Vives (*amicorum comunia omnia*) stood as a testament to Christian humanism amidst the turbulent backdrop of the Reformation, exemplifying the cross-cultural academic dialogue between England and Spain. More's opposition to Henry VIII's annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon aligned him with Spain's defense of Catholic orthodoxy and the unity of the Church.

The socio-political climate of early sixteenth-century Spain played a crucial role in shaping the reception of More's *Utopia*. In a period marked by political upheaval and the consolidation of power under the Catholic Monarchs, More's critique of societal inequities resonated with an audience grappling with the moral implications of imperial expansion. The discovery of new lands presented both opportunities for wealth and a moral quandary over colonial practices. More's depiction of an ideal society in Utopia, often misunderstood,

still questioned governance and ethics, mirroring the concerns of his contemporaries over European colonial endeavors. The Renaissance, in turn, fostered an intellectual climate ripe for debates on morality, governance, and human nature, creating a receptive audience for More's ideas.

Also, the execution of Thomas More by Henry VIII had profound implications for his legacy, especially in Spain. His death coincided with a period of heightened scrutiny of authority. More's challenging perspectives on power and governance provided a counter-narrative that was both influential and subversive. His martyrdom for his beliefs and for the unity of Christendom –then also threatened by the Ottoman Empire– imbued his work with a powerful critique of the *statu quo*, eloquently persuading readers that reforms for a better, more just, world, were not just opportunities but obligations. In Spain, More's *Utopia* became not merely a text but a catalyst for critical thought, offering a new lens through which to view societal structures and power dynamics.

Our book explores some of the many complex and multifaceted connections between Thomas More and Spain, examining his enduring influence on political and intellectual thought across borders and centuries.

The opening chapter by Eugenio M. Olivares Merino, «Introducing Arias Montano to Thomas More: The Role of Erasmus of Rotterdam» looks into the connections between Arias Montano and Thomas More throughout the influence of Erasmus of Rotterdam after the inclusion of Thomas More's engraving in Philip Galle's and Benito Arias Montano's *Virorum doctorum* (1572). The Spaniard, although he inclined for Erasmus since his time in the *Complutensis Universitas*, became royal censor and oversaw the Faculty of Theology at Louvain's revision and censorial work of Erasmus' *Opera Omnia* under the rule of the Duke of Alba. This work culminated in *Expurgatio Operum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, appended to the recently revised *Index Expurgatorius Librorum.*

Olivares Merino locates the multiple references to Thomas More contained in Erasmian texts. These generally emphasize More's support for the education of women, Christian upbringing and the study of Greek. More appears referenced in *Tomus Primus*, in the letters by Beatus Rhenanus to Charles V and Erasmus to Iohannes von Botzheim and the work *De copia, De conscribendis epistolis, De pueris instituendis, Ciceronianus, Dialogi Luciani* and *In nucem Ovidii*

commentarious. As for the second volume, the very much expurgated *Adagia* present two important mentions to the humanist. The third volume contains Erasmus' correspondence and, as highlighted by Germain Marc'hadour, four letters are instrumental in understanding both humanists' relation: letter to Ulrich von Hutten (July 23, 1519), to Germain de Brie (June 25, 1520), to Guillaume Budé (September 1521) and to Johann Faber (1532).

In the *Tomus Quartus,* focused on Erasmus' concerns on moral education, Olivares Merino identified More's name and figure in *Moriae Encomium,* dedicated to the Englishman –however, this text was fully censored in the *Expurgatio Erasmi.* Likewise, the *Tomus Quintus* suffered a profound revision and there are only a few references to the Englishman. Finally, the last volume, *Tomus Nonus,* as the previous tomes do not address More's life or work, compiles Erasmus' apologetical texts. The *Epistola apologetica ad Dorpium theologum* (1540), the *Apologia adversus rhapsodies Albertii Pii* (1540) and *Spongia* (1540) refers to More at some point.

The second chapter, «Thomas More as Translator: Typology and Functions of some Morean Features in his Version of Lucian's *Cynicus*», delves into Thomas More's rendering style as presented in his translations of Lucian's *Cynicus*. Concepción Cabrillana Leal claims that More's translation was more likely a translation exercise rather than a desired publication. The scholar acknowledges that the English humanist used to commit to the texts. Thus, the scholar aims at observing lexical-semantic variations and their implications. She offers a detailed account of characteristics based on enhancement, irony and moral teaching. Cabrillana Leal first addresses how More rendered Greek terms that did not have a corresponding word in Latin, causing semantic displacements, extensions and intensifications as it occurs with quantifiers or noun phrases. Irony is another aspect Lucian and More also have in common. Likewise, the author identifies that the latter intensifies irony by adding intensifiers, using semantic diversification and metaphorical meanings.

Besides, this use of Latin variation, Cabrillana Leal suggests, conveys a moral weight that is often more pronounced than in the original Greek text. In terms of character names, More interestingly chose Licinius instead of Lucianus for the Cynic's interlocutor, therefore lending the dialogue an open interpretive angle. Additionally, two other insertions reflect More's distinctive style. The author identifies four areas where More's translation displays potential imprecisions or

errors: confusing a compound verb, mismatching an adjective with its noun, varying the syntactic function and content simplification, which in some cases reduces the intended emphasis or intensity.

Then, «Renaissance Venice: a Utopian Republic Resisting the Spanish Empire» presents Marie-Claire Phelippeau's materialization of *Utopia* as a real republic considering Gasparo Contarini's proposed design for Venice in the Renaissance. Both *Utopia* and *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* shared some parallels, according to the scholar, that make them significantly related. Foremost, their authors, Thomas More and Gasparo Contarini, devoted their lives to public careers in their respective countries. Also, their geographical design and position are similar: the territories are not easily accessible, placing them in a good position against external attacks. The Utopian and Venetian founding values were concerned with the community and welfare rather than individual ambitions.

Phelippeau extensively acknowledges the influence of ancient institutions in the two places, especially in terms of selection and representation, the fight against tyranny, citizenship and rational government. When it comes to expansionism, the scholar highlights their desire for expansion as a way of expanding their ideal governing proposals. As far as war and diplomacy are concerned, Utopia and Venice hired mercenaries for the sake of their citizens. Ignoring Machiavelli's suggestion of owning a national army, they use money and diplomacy to secure their complete integrity. Despite some minor discrepancies, Phelippeau identifies that the republic of Venice aligns with Utopia's ideal description. Nevertheless, the author warns that the reader cannot forget that the Italian state-city was framed in real sixteenth-century Europe and faced previous and later realities –unlike the island of Utopia.

In chapter four, Inmaculada Ureña Asensio discusses the current uses of digital tools in the field of Morean studies. In 2015, the scholar Romuald Lakowski published the academic article «Digital Thomas More», where he informs about four projects developed in the intersection between traditional philology and Digital Humanities (DH): a digital edition of «Sir Thomas More's English Poetry from the 1557 Folio», «The International Thomas More Bibliography», a collaborative edition of Thomas More's *Utopia*, and a database of letters and documents about Thomas More. Only the first two could be carried out and, unfortunately, only one of them –the international bibliography– remains accessible. Along with this scholar, the Center

for Thomas More Studies has developed other digital proposals. That is the case of the extensive collection of documents related to Thomas More and European Humanism, providing facsimile digital copies and a concordance tool.

Ureña Asensio points out that the digital medium requires, however, computational knowledge and skills that generally the humanities community inevitably lacks. The article also discusses various challenges faced by the Morean community, such as the perceived objectivity of digital methods versus the traditional subjectivity of the humanities. Other challenges include project preservation, the need for interdisciplinary collaboration, and overcoming the «black-boxing» of complex computational processes that users might not fully understand.

The second half of the volume begins with Victor Lillo Castañ's publication «The Trial and Execution of Thomas More in two Castilian Accounts of 1535 and in the *Crónica del Rey Enrico Otavo de Ingalaterra* (*c.* 1550)», departing from J. Duncan M. Derrett's (1960) first collation of testimonies of the Englishman's trial and execution, focuses on several sixteenth-century documents written in the Peninsula narrating Thomas More's death: two Castilian 1535 *Relaciones* and the anonymous chronicle *Crónica del Rey Enrico Otavo de Ingalaterra*, written between 1549 and 1554. The author suggests that the *Relaciones* could be translations from a French testimony known as the *Paris News Letter,* in the same manner that the *Expositio fidelis de morte D. Thomas Mori* (1535) also rendered the facts narrated in the said French document. Indeed, Lillo Castañ recognizes the possible authorship of the Spanish translation to Álvaro de Astudillo, a Spanish merchant residing in London who was well connected to Eustace Chapuys, who was at the same time in contact with Erasmus of Rotterdam. The Spanish retelling, however, deviates from the French account in some fragments, and for that reason the scholar claims that the source text could be a distorted copy of the *Paris News Letter*, destroyed at some point.

The *Crónica* circulated as a manuscript in Spain and mentioned Thomas More on several occasions. The author claims that the source text on which *Crónica del Rey Otavo de Ingalaterra* could be based is not clear, since it contains references to different Latin and Spanish testimonies. However, the copies then found in Mss. 6381 and 2149, preserved in the BNE, could have been printed to remedy the deficiencies of the *Crónica*. Manuscript 6381 is the most valuable

account of the trial and execution of Thomas More in Spain because, together with Ms. 2149, it attaches a set of texts that makes these manuscripts the most authoritative versions for readers in sixteenth-century Spain.

In chapter six, Isabel M. Fuentes Martínez analyzes Mary Tudor's translation of Erasmus' *Paraphrases upon the New Testament* (1548). The author contextualizes the work and discusses the Catholic traces the translator left in her pursuit to render the Latin text into English during the Edwardian Reformation. Translations were popular in the Early Modern Period, especially in women due to the social conditions of the time. The religious English context triggered censorship and content variation on both Protestant and Catholic sides throughout the decades, especially in religious literature, as claimed by Meister and Stump (2010). Katherine Parr, Henry VIII's widow, asked Mary Tudor to participate in the translation of Erasmus that she was planning; the latter's name on the cover page could signify the royal family's support to Edward VI. According to Dodds (2009), the original idea of the *Paraphrases* was to guide readers to emulate Christ's life, making thus the New Testament more accessible to the Christian community.

The author recognizes Mary Tudor's participation within a broader historical framework, since Nicholas Udall, who wrote the preface to the translation, wanted to convince the public that she agreed with her brother's religious ideas. Mary, however, could see Erasmus' religious conservativism and the value of the translation itself as key to making the Bible more approachable. In her rendering of «John's Gospel», there are some revealing textual clues in the manner she approaches Charles V, the Virgin Mary and St. Peter. Fuentes Martínez concludes that Mary Tudor did not set her Catholicism away and could have used the translation as a vehicle to transmit her thoughts despite the fact that Mary's level of engagement is difficult to determine.

In chapter seven, Cinta Zunino Garrido's «Fernando de Herrera, Arias Montano and their Coterie: Some Notes about the Genesis of *Tomás Moro* (1592)», examines the context behind Fernando de Herrera's 1592 publication on Thomas More. Herrera's work combined historical and hagiographical details of the humanist in the composition of this text similar to what other sixteenth-century Catholic authors such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, William Roper, Nicholas Harpsfield, Nicholas Sanders, Pedro de Ribadeneyra or

Stapleton did. Herrera then contributed in his own manner to the surge of biographical works about the English humanist and scholars have attempted to trace the influences of these contemporary authors on Herrera's text. Zunino Garrido agrees with Royston O. Jones that the 1592 work could find inspiration in Erasmus' *Expositio Fidelis* (1535), Sanders' *De origine ac progressu schismatic Anglicani* and Stapleton's *Tres Thomae* (1588). This fact, however, is difficult to ascertain, since the Spanish author blends historical facts with his viewpoint and, besides, there are no explicit references to other texts.

López Estrada suggested that the presence of the English Jesuits in Seville could have been instrumental in the publication of the work. In line with this scholar, Zunino Garrido adds the potential influence of his local academic circle, which was made up of intellectuals like Francisco Pacheco, Simón de Tovar and Francisco Sánchez de Oropesa. The Sevillian singular cultural elite acquainted itself with Thomas More's work and life, and this was highly possible thanks to the company of the Hebraist Benito Arias Montano in Southwestern Spain. Arias Montano, in his stay in Flanders from 1568 to 1575, established direct contact with other intellectuals who admired the English humanist –mostly English Catholics who had fled from England. That was the case of Christopher Plantin, John Clement, Joannes Rethius, Jasper Heywood, William Soone, Nicholas Sanders and Levinius Torrentius. Back in Spain, he kept up correspondence with his contacts in the Low Countries. The Sevillian intellectuals benefitted from his connections and initiated an exchange of foreign works, as they ordered books from the Plantin Press too. They obtained a copy of Stapleton's *Tres Thomae* (1588, Douay), *Maria Stuartae Scotorum Regina* (1587, Cologne), Thomas More's *Utopia*, and *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (1587, Cambridge). This proves the interest of the Sevillian circle in English history and culture during the Spanish Counter-Reformation period, potentially triggering Herrera's biography of Thomas More.

Finally, in chapter eight, I offer a preliminary comparative analysis of just war theory as depicted in the works of Thomas More and Juan Luis Vives, examining how both thinkers addressed the morality of war during the early sixteenth century. Although More and Vives are often portrayed as pacifists nowadays, this chapter argues that their views on war are more nuanced, especially concerning the justification for some wars under certain conditions. The context includes a Europe marred by political strife, including the expansion of the

Ottoman Empire, which created an urgent need for just war discussions. Vives, in particular, had expressed strong anti-war sentiments in his works, except when facing the Turkish threat, while More's *Utopia* explored both the concepts of preemptive and preventive war, centuries before these were defined by political thought and international law, and scenarios where military action could be justified.

I also try to provide enough historical and cultural context, detailing the conflicts across Europe and the Ottoman expansion, as well as Spain's imperial actions in the Americas that triggers a very interesting debate on the morality of war, the *ius ad bellum*, the *ius in bello* and the *ius post bello*. Humanist scholars like Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto –members of the Spanish School of Salamanca– were contemporaries who contributed to the development of just war doctrine. They argued that wars must have legitimate causes, and the means of war must be proportional and humane. These thinkers condemned wars for conquest or forced conversions, focusing on ethical governance, justice, and the protection of innocent lives.

In his *De Europae Dissidiis et Republica*, Vives delves into Europe's discord and the Turkish menace, combining historical recollections and philosophical reflections. One key text of the above collection, *De Bello Turcico*, written shortly after the catastrophic Battle of Mohács in 1526, addresses European disunity and the growing Ottoman threat. Vives urges European monarchs to unify against the Turks rather than engage in internal conflicts. The influence of More's *Utopia* is suggested as Vives portrays European wars as self-destructive while implying that a unified front against the Ottomans is probably justified.

The chapter further explores the nuanced distinction between peacefulness and pacifism. For both More and Vives, peace is an ideal worth striving for, but pacifism, with its uncompromising opposition to any war, at any time, under any circumstances, is complex in practical governance and would lead to worse evils than those it intends to prevent. Vives, like More, considered war acceptable under specific conditions, especially in defense against an existential threat like the Muslim one embodied by the Turkish empire, at the time when Vives was writing his *De Europae Dissidiis et Republica*. Both authors recognize that the state has a duty to protect its citizens, even if it means resorting to violence in unavoidable circumstances.

Lastly, as a case in point, the chapter briefly discusses Vives' fictional dialogue set in Hades in *De Bello Turcico*, which mirrors More's

satirical approach in *Utopia*. In this dialogue, characters debate the futility of European internal conflicts and advocate for a unified response to the Turkish threat. The views presented echo More's fictional portrayal of Utopians who only go to war for just causes. Through this preliminary analysis, I conclude that the traditionally pacifist readings of More and Vives may be overly simplistic. Instead, both thinkers navigate a careful line between a principled preference for peace and a pragmatic recognition of the need for defensive war under specific circumstances.

English in the World SERIES

General editors
Antonia Sánchez Macarro, Juan José Martínez Sierra

Thomas More and Spain

This volume traces Th. More's intellectual and political connections with Spain through eight scholarly contributions. Olivares examines Erasmus's role in linking Arias Montano to More's legacy amid Counter-Reformation censorship. Cabrillana decodes More's Lucian translations to reveal his moral-aesthetic priorities, while Phelippeau juxtaposes *Utopia* with Venetian governance models resisting Habsburg hegemony. Ureña explores digital humanities' challenges in Morean studies, and Lillo reconstructs Spanish accounts of More's trial through several manuscripts. Fuentes analyzes Mary Tudor's Erasmian translations, and Zunino maps Sevillian networks that cultivated More's posthumous reputation via Herrera's 1592 biography. The volume concludes with the editor's exploration of More and Vives' nuanced just-war theories, challenging some naive pacifist interpretations by contextualizing their pragmatic responses to Ottoman expansion. Bridging literary analysis, archival research, and transnational historiography, these essays illuminate Spain's enduring role in shaping More's critique of power and his Renaissance afterlife.

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